

## New York Tribune.

First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1915.

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### Officers First.

Anybody thoroughly familiar with modern military problems knows that the greatest need of an army is an ample supply of trained officers. Great Britain has been terribly handicapped for the last year by the lack of officers to lead her new armies. Her military efficiency is conditioned by her capacity to turn amateur officers into professional ones.

If the administration's army reorganization plans are carried out our military efficiency will be similarly minimized in time of war. We shall have in addition to our undersized regular army a continental army of 400,000 men, the state national guards and our unorganized militia, just as Great Britain had her regulars, her Territorials and Kitchener's two or three millions of untrained troops. But where are we going to procure officers to organize our half trained, unco-ordinated troops into a real fighting force and get results with them on the battlefield?

Secretary Garrison's latest explanation of the army reorganization plan leaves no illusions on this score. Under it we are not going to procure them at all. As regards the continental army, the administration's purpose is thus bluntly stated: "It is proposed in addition to what officers may be developed from its own operations to obtain officers for it from those who have served in the United States Army and are no longer on its active list, and those who, by training acquired in colleges and schools or in other ways, have become equipped with sufficient military information and experience to make them available." So far as the regular army is concerned Secretary Garrison's scheme contemplates an increase of the officers' corps from 5,016 to 7,086, the latter total including 750 officers to be employed for training citizen soldiers and bringing about "more co-operation with the national guard and with those educational institutions which have military courses."

Counting the regular army, the continental army and the national guard, the Garrison project produces about 645,000 enlisted men. But it produces only 7,086 trained officers, excluding the very small percentage of continental officers who are to be drawn from the regular army retired list. Great Britain, with hardly 1,000,000 men in the field in the first year of the war, lost nearly twice 7,000 officers. And it must be remembered that of our 7,086 at least 2,000 will have to be assigned permanently to regular army staff duties.

After the Garrison plans go through we shall, in fact, be worse off than ever, relatively, for officers trained to arms as a profession. West Point is turning out about 150 cadets a year. It could be made to turn out 300 a year. But even that annual increment would be pitifully small. The country should not only have a greater West Point, but two or three West Points. Every hundred additional trained officers obtained would be worth a whole brigade of continentals. The great fault of the administration plan is that it begins to build from the wrong end. The masses of militia at which it aims would be worthless for defense if they could not be properly organized, mobilized and commanded.

### Service Versus Profits.

The gist of the organized opposition which has developed to the granting of a comprehensive motor omnibus franchise to the New York Motor Bus Company lies in the frank declaration that the proposed routes "will take the cream of the short haul traffic from the surface lines." Since the short haul is the money maker for any transit line, there follows the prediction that establishing this motor bus service would plunge the surface lines at present operating into bankruptcy.

It happens that the surface lines of Manhattan are painfully recovering from rechartering, brought on not by any such competition as that now threatened, but by their own complicated financing and unsatisfactory service. Naturally they want no repetition of the conditions through which they went; and, other things being equal, the city would not want it either. But there is more to be considered than the preservation of their profits or even the preservation of the investment made in their securities. There is the ever present question of improving transit service and enlarging the available range of transit facilities.

In reporting favorably on the proposal of the bus company the Committee on Franchises of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment termed it a "good and satisfactory" one for the city. It provides for service badly needed now, especially on crowded routes. It would interfere with—that is, compete with—the existing transit monopoly. But the city would obtain through the completion of these arrangements a return which apparently no other company is willing

to give, and the public would obtain new transit lines which would be of great advantage for which, apparently, it has no reason to hope under any other conditions. It hardly seems pertinent, therefore, that because a small initial investment is required for a motor bus company in comparison with a street railroad, enabling it to compete advantageously with street railways, the profits of the surface lines are threatened. The city treasury seems likely to gain through the issuance of this proposed franchise, and the travelling public is certain to gain through the operation of the new routes. Where the public's interest is concerned the profits, or even the value of investments of corporate interests, cannot be allowed to stand in the way of improvements.

### Protect Americans at Home!

It is possible that any one of the four big fires which have occurred within two days in plants for the manufacture of munitions of war may have been due to natural causes. It seems incredible that all of them could have been attributable to ordinary business hazards. American business methods are not so loose, so regardless of the value of property and of the profits to be derived from factories in regular and steady operation as this sudden deluge of disasters would indicate, if they could be attributed to ordinary causes.

The Bethlehem fire, the blazes in the Reebing plant, in the Midvale Steel Company and in the Baldwin Locomotive Works are proper objects of suspicion, since all these concerns were busy on rush orders for supplies for the Allies. The losses and suspension of activities benefit the Teutonic combination and seriously harm its enemies. With that the American public has little to do, but it has much concern over the fact that American property is destroyed and American workmen are thrown out of employment.

There have been many other links in the chain of circumstances indicating a vicious, unneutral disregard of American laws, all of them working for the benefit of foreign powers. It seems high time for the authorities to give some attention to this menace—some investigation and, if possible, some punishment. American property and lives on the high seas ought to be protected, of course. They are no less worthy of protection here at home.

### The Mess in the Philippines.

Representative Clarence B. Miller, of Minnesota, is one of the keenest students in Congress of Philippine affairs. He has sought information at the source, making protracted visits to the archipelago. He knows the Moro country as well as he does Cebu and Luzon. The picture which he drew in "The Sun" the other day of wholesale demoralization in the Philippines cannot be dismissed, therefore, as the overstatement of a careless or irresponsible observer. It will have to be taken account of by the country and by Congress. The administration cannot suppress Mr. Miller's views, although it has been able so far to suppress the real reasons for the resignation of Mr. Clinton L. Riggs, a Wilson appointee to the Philippine Commission, who recently gave up his post because of friction with Governor General Harrison.

Mr. Miller has personally witnessed the evil effects of the Harrison regime. The conditions which he has observed are only the logical result of the working out of the Harrison policies. The present Governor General is entirely in sympathy with Representative Jones, of Virginia, Commissioner Quezon and the other extremists who were behind the Jones bill in the last Congress. Their motto is, "The Philippines for the Filipinos." They believe in a relinquishment of American sovereignty without delay, in an abandonment of the effort to fit the Filipinos for self-government, in a betrayal of our pledges not to turn the Philippines over to predatory native politicians for exploitation after the methods in fashion in Mexico.

Mr. Harrison's programme has been to coddle the politicians hostile to a continuance of American rule. He has nursed their nationalistic aspirations by giving them a free hand in local government. He has allowed the administrative standards to be lowered, has discriminated against Americans in the public service and done everything in his power to foster the idea that the chief desire of the administration in Washington is to drop the work of political education and economic development and get out of Manila at the earliest possible opportunity.

It is no wonder that prosperity is retarded, sedition is rife and contempt of American authority is widespread. Mr. Miller lays the responsibility for disorganization where it belongs when he says: "If there is chaos in the islands; if good government has given way to bad government; if the evil forces control; if prosperity is gone; if the hard earned progress of fifteen years is all but destroyed; if a people we have done so much to help are lacking in respect for us and our sovereignty, we alone are to blame. Beginning with October 6, 1913, the Philippines have been taught all these things by our own representatives in the islands."

We shall probably have the Jones bill with us again when Congress reassembles. It aims to accelerate the plunge back to chaos. It would enlarge the opportunities of the Filipino politicians and pledge the legislative as well as the executive branch of our government to a speedy surrender of our sovereignty. It was supported last year by many who were deceived by its pretence of benevolent encouragement to native effort. That mask has now been torn away. Everybody can see the evil results of the Harrison-Jones-Quezon theory.

We have gone far enough in undermining our position in the Philippines. It is time to go back to sanity, to recover our balance, to acknowledge once more our responsibilities as the guardian of the interests of the Philippine people. In the

light of Mr. Miller's revelations it would be a crime against national honor for Congress to pass the vicious Jones bill.

### No Babies, No Booze.

Mayor Fagan of Jersey City has a warm spot in his heart for children, but a still warmer spot, we suspect, for their daddies, of voting age. For when he says to the apartment hotel builders of Hudson Boulevard, "No kids, no bar!" it must be his affection for the daddies that is uppermost.

Apparently Hudson Boulevard is a highway possessing, or about to possess, all the modern improvements, including lapdogs, both human and animal. None of its apartment buildings, on the authority of Mayor Fagan, will admit families with children. But they welcome liquor licenses. One would suppose that the disinterested friend of children would be the more inclined on this account to vote them their licenses, but Mayor Fagan's mind doesn't work that way. "Suffer the little ones or go on the wagon!" is his ultimatum. Heaven help the little ones!

After all, why shouldn't the Hudson Boulevards of our cities be accepted as socially prophylactic agencies for the segregation of childless, self-indulgent couples? The struggling parent would then no longer be in danger of corruption from the daily perception of their greater comforts, and his children need never feel jealous of the sullen spaniel. Particularly if enough bars be provided within the pales to keep their inhabitants at home.

### South Africa and the Empire.

Shortly before the recent South African elections General Smuts declared that the main issue was Boethism against Herengism, and that this, in fact, overwhelmed all other differences was shown clearly enough in the extraordinary collapse of the Labor party. The result is more emphatically in favor of General Botha than most observers expected it to be. His party, the South African party, has a clear majority of only 14 over the next strongest group, but as the Independents may undoubtedly be counted as Boethists in most essential matters the practical majority amounts to 19. For the rest there is little doubt that the government will be supported by the Unionists in almost all issues of national moment.

The Nationalists have only 27 votes, against the 54 of the South African party and the 40 of the Unionists. Nor are all of the Nationalists blind followers of General Hereng. It is doubtful to what degree his sentiments govern the party; apart, indeed, from his unqualified enmity to Botha and Smuts it is difficult exactly to determine the present state of his sentiments. The general sentiment of the whole party is simple enough—it is for South Africa *liber Allee*. But apparently there is a great diversity of opinion on the important question of how far the party should go. Some are proud to declare themselves rebels, and, like the extremists in Ireland, stick to the doctrine that England's difficulty is their opportunity. So some of them are not only against supporting imperial aims, but are frankly outspoken in defence of Germany and her allies. It is to be noted, however, that General Hereng himself approves of the retention of German Southwest Africa.

The policy of the South African party is clear: it stands firmly by the terms of the Vereeniging treaty and is for the loyal discharge of imperial obligations. The government are evidently determined to maintain order with a strong hand, and their position is well enough established to do so. General Smuts has warned the Nationalists that armed protest will involve martial law, and General Botha, while advising his followers "to show leniency to those on the other side," has made it plain that lawlessness will be put down by whatever means may be necessary. Already the sale of arms and ammunition has been prohibited in the Orange Free State.

Many important changes are expected and are, indeed, necessary, under the conditions that prevail to-day, but the one important point established beyond a reasonable doubt is that South Africa is prepared to stand firmly beside Great Britain throughout the war. For the time being, at least, the Herengites are overwhelmed.

We note in a Hoosier exchange an article written by the president of an Indiana Wilson-Bryan Club. Being the president these days of such an organization must strain to the cracking point even an Indiana politician's capacities for "watchful waiting."

### New German Weapon.

A fresh type of submarine has been invented to further Germany's new policy. This submarine discharges no torpedoes, but instead lays mines. This class of ship is now busily engaged in attempting to destroy our own commerce and that of neutral nations. The mine-laying submarines on or under the water each possess an air chamber in which the mines are placed. When the mine is to be discharged an air-and-water tight door, from the hull of the submarine, leading into this chamber is closed, and another trap door is opened, flooding the mine-chamber. Then the mines are automatically released, only to be discovered by unlucky chance. Simon Lake, the American submarine expert, declares that he is responsible for this ingenious invention.

### A Story of M. Delcasse.

M. Delcasse, whose retirement from the French Foreign Office is an event of such note, is in private life one of the most retiring and reserved of men, who sedulously cultivates his own fireside, and is totally unknown in the world of fashion. A story told of him which dates back to his earliest days at the Foreign Office is characteristic. One of the most treasured possessions of the Quai d'Orsay is the legendary table which belonged to the famous Prince-Bishop of Autun, and had during the Directory, Consulate, Empire and Republic gathered so much history around it that Guizot said he never approached it without fear and trembling. Delcasse on his first day relegated it to a lumber-room and ordered in its place an entirely modern substitute—infinite more commonplace but vastly more convenient.

### A BRITISH SUGGESTION

Appease Germany at the Expense of America.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: As your valuable paper has no inconsiderable Canadian audience, I would appreciate the opportunity of informing my fellow countrymen through its columns of a way to win the war and end the loss of life and other sacrifices that Canadians are cheerfully making in the interest of human liberty. I am not an American, hyphenated or otherwise; neither am I making my living in this country; and therefore feel at liberty to advocate a peace plan that might not be in accordance with American interest in every particular. As the Americans are not willing to make reasonable concessions to Great Britain, why should British people have any regard for American interest or hesitate to sacrifice an American policy in order to bring about a satisfactory peace?

I believe that the Monroe Doctrine is a policy which Americans prize very highly. In the beginning that policy was indorsed and supported by Great Britain. At the time of the Spanish American War Germany formed a coalition of European powers to end that policy, but as Great Britain refused to join the combination and threatened to assist the United States in maintaining it the matter was dropped. In fact, the chief support of the Monroe Doctrine from its announcement to the present time has been the British navy. Whenever the United States has been in a difficult position Great Britain has given her the fullest support. When the North laid down her historic principles of international law Great Britain saw her cotton operatives in Manchester and other towns starve; she saw the North blockade the British ports of Nassau, Bermuda, etc., and contented herself with a mere formal protest, avoiding, as far as possible, any unnecessary embarrassment to the American government.

On the other hand, whenever Great Britain has been fighting with her back to the wall in the interest of humanity the American government has taken advantage of every possible opportunity to add to her difficulties. In the war against Napoleon the United States declared war on Great Britain, using a pretext so flimsy that she did not even mention it in the peace treaty, while the action was so manifestly unjust that flags were hung at halfmast and bells tolled, as if for a funeral, at Boston and other New England cities when war was declared by the American President. Again Great Britain stands with her back to the wall fighting for Belgium and humanity, and while the American public attest to the justice of the cause by pouring out their money like water to assist the Belgian people, because Great Britain has done exactly what the North did, made a new application of international law in connection with the blockade, the American government at once does everything possible to add to Great Britain's difficulties.

Germany wants a place in the sun. Why not give her a place in the sun that shines, a place in Mexico and South America, if she gets out of Belgium and Russia and allows Serbia to have Bosnia and Herzegovina and satisfies Italian aspirations, gives back Alsace and Lorraine to France and permits Great Britain and Russia to have a free hand in Turkey? It would be necessary for Great Britain to guarantee that the British navy would not be used in support of the Monroe Doctrine to open the door for German expansion in a territory within easy sailing distance from her own ports where she could find a home for her surplus population for the next two hundred years. This, to my mind, would be a very satisfactory way of ending the war to every one except the United States, and why should British people continue to make sacrifices merely to preserve an American policy when the American government apparently does not appreciate their action?

CANADIAN.  
New Brunswick, Canada, Nov. 8, 1915.

### Against Religion in Schools.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I heartily agree with all that Rabbi Grossman said in his sermon Sunday, as reported in the newspapers, regarding the religious instruction feature of the Gary school system. It is, as he says, "un-American, undemocratic and subversive of the fundamental principle of American liberty." There are many strong reasons for opposing religious instruction in the public schools of this free and happy country, where every one can worship God in his own way, and it would be most unwise to introduce any feature in our public schools that even remotely means a union of Church and State, with its never-ending turmoil and struggle and strife for supremacy.

As Mr. Grossman says, "let religion be taught where it rightfully belongs—at the domestic altar, in the church and synagogue, in the denominational school—but let free public schools be and forever remain free and untrammelled to the utmost degree, the bulwark of liberty, the fashioner of the inspired of civic and national unity." Nothing finer has been said on this much discussed subject. I hope the Americans in New York City will wake up to the danger that is now threatening before it is too late.

NORA CANTWELL.  
New York, Nov. 9, 1915.

### America's Ingratitude.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: It is often said that republics are ungrateful. The truth of this statement never had better proof than in our recent note to England.

England has been charged with instigating this war for the purpose of robbing Germany of her constantly increasing trade. If there is any truth in the charge, then England has been only half successful. To be sure, she has entirely destroyed Germany's trade, but her own has fallen off, instead of increasing by the amount of Germany's or any part of it. It is very easy to discover where this trade has gone. American foreign trade has increased about 50 per cent, her exports some 100 per cent and her favorable trade balance nearly 300 per cent.

This is the gift which the British fleet has made to America, and as a token of appreciation America demands that this same British fleet cease interfering with her exports to Germany (for nearly all our shipments to Scandinavia and Holland are such in disguise).

America's greed is like Caesar's greatness—it grows with that upon which it feeds. America! America! The land of the free (and ungrateful) and the home of the brave (and insatiate). RUSSELL E. GEYER.  
Brooklyn, Nov. 9, 1915.

### Nahum on Preparedness.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: President Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt could have added to their Biblical quotation in defence of preparedness by a very apt reference to old Prophet Nahum, Chapter II, first verse. He warned them with no uncertain trumpet: "He that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face: keep the munition, watch the way, make thy loins strong, fortify thy power mightily." E. N. R.  
New York, Nov. 9, 1915.

## HEROD—"FOR HOW MUCH LESS I BECAME INFAMOUS!"



### THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES

An American Eyewitness's Story of the Ghastly Crimes Committed by the Turkish Authorities.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: This morning's Tribune has a letter from His Excellency Zia Muffi-Zadi Bey in reply to a letter from Mr. O. T. Malghazouny, published November 4. I do not happen to have seen the letter to which he refers, but inasmuch as I was in Van during the entire siege and in close touch with both Moslems and Christians, I beg you to give this letter publicity equal to that given to Zia Bey's letter in to-day's issue.

I note that he draws attention to the fact that Mr. Malghazouny "does not deny the rebellion of the Armenians at Van." I have been told that Zia Bey published in "The Times" in October a letter in which he made the charge that the Armenians of Van rebelled and that the Ottoman government was suppressing rebellion in the measures it took against the Armenians. He used a photograph published in "The Literary Digest" of October 9 as proof that the Armenians were in rebellion and that the Americans aided them. It is unfortunate that those in prominent official positions, like Zia Bey, should be misinformed and endeavor to protect the good name of their governments by errors in statement.

Permit me to say, first, that "The Literary Digest" by the explanation under the above mentioned photograph misinformed Zia Bey. This stated that the Armenians, taken unaware and many of them massacred, fled to the American Mission compound, fortified it and directed their fight against the Turks from that place until the Turks retired. The first part of this statement is true, the latter part utterly false. The trench photograph was a full mile from the American Mission compound. The compound was never fortified in any way, and all through the siege its neutrality was maintained.

No armed man was permitted to enter the premises, even cartridge belts being removed at the gate when men with revolvers desired to come in to see some relative or friend. No shot was ever fired from the American Mission at the Ottoman forces or any others, and the Americans were so determined to preserve the neutrality and extrajurisdiction of their premises that they assured the Governor General, Jevdet Bey, a brother-in-law of Damed-Enver Pasha, that they would themselves shoot any one who dared to fire from the American premises, be he Christian or Moslem, civil or military.

During the siege there were more than twenty Ottoman soldiers in the American Mission hospital and six thousand Armenian refugees, mostly women and children, in the mission compound. After the siege the Armenians brought us about one thousand Mussulman refugees, men, women and children, and a number of wounded and sick Turkish soldiers, and all were tenderly cared for by American and Armenian Christians and the Russian Red Cross workers.

As to the revolution or rebellion of Armenians as a cause of the massacres and other atrocities by the Turkish military, the facts are as follows: From the beginning of the mobilization it was made perfectly evident that it was the determination of the government to ruin the non-Moslems. The men were removed from their homes and shops and then their houses and shops were plundered in the name of the government. Cooking utensils, copper vessels, bedding, clothing, food and other things, even bric-a-brac, were seized, and the meanest Turkish gendarme was given powers supposed to lie only in the hands of a court marshal.

Both in the army and out of it many Armenians were shot down, and payment of "bada," or exemption money, was no protection. Americans would have rebelled under one-tenth of the provocation, but Armenians did not. Turkish officers took Armenians out of the ranks, on the march, tied them to telegraph poles and shot them, with no better excuse than the accusation that they wanted to desert. Self-respecting and faithful Armenians in the army were disarmed and made the slaves of Turkish soldiers. Sickness and starvation were rife among them, and their starving families at home were uncared for by the government. Murders of Armenians in the army were frequent. There were desertions, but the Kurds deserted in much larger numbers. I wonder would not Zia Bey have deserted under such circumstances, when it was evident

his government did not trust and did not want him?

In spite of all this and a thousand times more, of which I must not write, the Armenians did not rebel. I could tell of petty massacres and the terrorizing of communities by police and gendarmes. The Armenian leaders pleaded with the downtrodden, exasperated Armenians not to resist or in any way give the government an excuse for severe measures. The extermination of the Armenians had been decreed by the Constantinople authorities, the leaders of the Young Turks, whose motto is "Turkey for the Turks." First the leaders of the people were to be removed, and four of the leading Armenians, invited by the Governor General to hold a peace conference to bring about harmony in Shadakh, were fouly murdered the first night en route, by the governor's orders. Soldiers were sent to Shadakh with orders to wipe out the Armenian population, and no secret was made of the orders. The Armenian member of Parliament was seized and deported. The inhabitants of the villages of Haigatsore were massacred by the governor's special regiment, and mutilated women, girls and even infants, who after days in the mountains were brought to our hospital, testified to the ruthlessness of the attack.

Only at the sixth village, when it was evident that a general massacre was on, did the Armenians begin to resist. There less than half a dozen young men held the attacking force off until some of the women and children could escape to the mountains. This was April 17 and 18. Soldiers and gendarmes had been quartered in nearly all the villages and instructed to complete the massacre on Monday, the 19th. The Kaimekum of Arjesch, trusted by the Armenians, called the men to the government building and, marching them out under guard in companies of fifty, shot down two thousand five hundred, regardless of their having paid their "bada," and contributed in many ways to the government.

These rumors reaching Van, it is not strange that the Armenians were uneasy and ready to defend themselves when attacked on Tuesday, April 20, and they did defend themselves heroically throughout a siege of twenty-eight days. About sixty men in the walled city and twelve hundred in the garden city, variously armed with every kind of firearm, ancient and modern, except machine guns and cannon, held off the Ottoman forces and artillery till the Turks fled, then they burned the Turkish quarters, lest the Turks should return and renew the attack. They did not know that a Russian army was approaching until two days after the siege was raised. With their lack of proper arms and ammunition, the Armenians would not have dared to rebel and attack the trained Turkish army.

Knowing what I do of Turkish official reports, I am not surprised that Zia Bey is misinformed, and I trust this statement of facts will change his opinion on some points. I can vouch for the above statements from personal knowledge of the Armenian people.

CLARENCE D. USSHER, M. D.,  
Chief of Staff of the American Red Cross Hospital at Van, Turkey.  
East Hartford, Conn., Nov. 9, 1915.

### Ireland and Empire.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The conclusion of the strategical and ex-Irishman, Admiral Mahan, that a separate Ireland would be fatal to the imperial ambitions of England, adds the more good reason to the many that exist for complete Irish self-government. Nevertheless, Ireland's case is strong enough to stand entirely by itself. The subjection of one nation by another is justified on no grounds. The whole idea of empire is abhorrent and wrong. Nations remain, but empires come and go. Not even the cooking, food and other things, even bric-a-brac, were seized, and the meanest Turkish gendarme was given powers supposed to lie only in the hands of a court marshal.

Both in the army and out of it many Armenians were shot down, and payment of "bada," or exemption money, was no protection. Americans would have rebelled under one-tenth of the provocation, but Armenians did not. Turkish officers took Armenians out of the ranks, on the march, tied them to telegraph poles and shot them, with no better excuse than the accusation that they wanted to desert. Self-respecting and faithful Armenians in the army were disarmed and made the slaves of Turkish soldiers. Sickness and starvation were rife among them, and their starving families at home were uncared for by the government. Murders of Armenians in the army were frequent. There were desertions, but the Kurds deserted in much larger numbers. I wonder would not Zia Bey have deserted under such circumstances, when it was evident

DESMOND A. FITZGERALD.  
New York, Nov. 9, 1915.

### NO GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY

Supremacy of Our Flag Cannot Exist with Alien Crews.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: A letter in to-day's Tribune says: "For fifty years private capital has had its opportunity, but failed to build up an American merchant marine. Our flag cannot be restored to its former supremacy on the seas save with government assistance. The Secretary's plan is for the benefit of the many a government subsidy will benefit only the few."

Commenting on this paragraph in the order of its parts, it may be said: First, American capital being implied, it should be noted that during the last fifty years English and German shipping activities have prevented American capital from being put on the seas; second, government assistance can never re-instate supremacy of our flag while the crews of so-called American ships are mainly composed of aliens who care nothing at all for the Stars and Stripes; third, the Secretary's plan here mentioned was a tentative "scheme of unrelated parts" publicly suggested by Mr. McAdoo, which, being recalled in the present times, echoes feebly.

The last fifteen months alone have so changed much that pertains to international commerce, and, incidentally, so seriously altered all our foreign relations, that what might perhaps have applied to desirable merchant marine rehabilitation two years ago cannot apply now. Subsidy or no subsidy, private capital's active interest or its despond of all lack of interest in this matter, all together go to the scrapheap, because "interests" are no longer fixed factors, but have become shorn of their assumed continuity. Be they monetary and commercial or be they political, they are not genuine potentialities.

Mr. Secretary McAdoo and his friends may as well try again, for their notion of interchangeability of service, meant to apply to war vessels so planned that they could fight or carry commerce comfortably, stands dismissed when we realize that the carrying trade requires large bottoms, which clearly are already doomed in navies, the programme for super-ships to the contrary notwithstanding.

No rehabilitations of America's merchant marine can approximate supremacy now, because diversities of occupation operate to prevent development of that clean spirit of adventure whose activities included service at sea seventy and a hundred years ago. That spirit is undermined so that it becomes dwarfed. Industrialism clutches and destroys America's youth. This circumstance prevents the very thing it demands, for industrial activity requires ships, merchant ships, even while it enslaves our youth to wage-earning toil which obliterates the old-time American spirit.

ALFRED LAURENS BRENNAN  
New York, Nov. 8, 1915.

### Taking England to Task.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The question is being seriously asked why our government finds it so much easier to take England to task for her delinquencies than to do the same by Germany.

If we had responded to the plea of the Belgian commissioners, or in any way protested against German barbarities toward others than ourselves, who knows what horrors might have been averted?

The difference may lie in the fact that Germans have votes in this country and Englishmen have practically none.  
R. GRAY PHILLIPS.  
New York, Nov. 9, 1915.

### "Oh, for a Roosevelt!"

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The note to England is out. Two questions spring to mind at once. One is, Will Great Britain call our bluff? and the other is, What are you going to do about it? If the people of the United States want to be sat down upon by Great Britain and Japan they had better start in to do something inimical to the plans of those nations. Oh, for a man of backbone to hold the reins of government! This nation then would occupy a place of respect in the affairs of the world and its government have the respect of a majority of its citizens. Oh, for a Roosevelt!  
G. C. THOMAS.  
Brooklyn, Nov. 8, 1915.